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The Wor(l)ds of Kalevala: Finnish Lexical Loans in Modern English

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Abstract

This paper deals with Finnish lexical loans in modern English relating them to external history and cultural history of Finland. Chronologically the study starts all the way back in the (prehistoric) Old English period and moves on from Beowulf in Finna land to King Alfred's Cwenas, from Æthelred II's coins in Finland to the first baroque descriptions of Finland by merchants and travellers, from the Diet of Porvoo to the publication of the *Kalevala*, from Porthan, Lönnrot and Castrén to Schauman and Bobrikov, Mannerheim and Molotov, with language history documenting this procession in its own peculiar ways. The data for the study come from the *Oxford English Dictionary* and other lexicographical sources as well as historical and present-day corpora.

Introduction

In the widely debated sculpture *Entropa* by Czech artist David Černý, originally unveiled in Justus Lipsius Building in Brussels in January 2009 and now on display in Techmania Science Centre in Plzeň in the Czech Republic, Finland is depicted as a wooden floor with a bearded male figure lying on in, surrounded by a red-coloured elephant, hippo, and crocodile. The man is holding a rifle, and the beasts are advancing menacingly toward him. In an online interview to the readers of the *iDNES.cz* news portal of 21 January 2009, Černý explained this cryptic vision as "hunter's delirium tremens in the sauna."[1] It is thus an image of a wild country, (seeing itself) surrounded by red monsters, of which the rest of the world knows hardly anything except for its saunas and drunkenness. A stereotypical image, no doubt, but with a touch of truth about it, which may be reflected not only in the

1 In Czech "lovcovo delirium tremens v saune" 21.01.2009 14:17 <http://kultura.idnes.cz/autor-plastiky-entropa-david-cerny-odpovi-on-line-fvv-/odpovedi.asp?t=ERN> accessed January 2013.

realities of the material world, but also, as I am going to argue, in the intricate histories of Finnish-based loanwords into English.

Scholarly information on Finnish loans is indeed scarce. Discussions of Finnish lexis are conspicuously absent from textbooks and histories of English words such as Serjeantson (1935)[2], Strang (1970), Algeo (1998), Stockwell and Minkova (2001), etc. Hughes (2000) mentions two Finnish words *mink* and *sauna* in his list of foreign items "which have come into the mainstream of English" (2000: 365). The Finnish origin of *mink* is, however, disputed in the OED. He further introduces statistics of mainstream and exotic English words going back to source languages ranging from Latin to Hopi. The figures for Finnish is 42 lexical items (2000: 370), but how this *OED 2*-based count was arrived at is, unfortunately, not explained and the loans are not listed.

The "Language of Origin" search tool in the OED produces a total of 12 loanwords from Finnish (discussed below in detail) – *essive*, *kantele*, *laitakarite*, *markka*, *penni*, *pulka*, *puukko*, *rapakivi*, *runo*, *rya*, *Salpausselkä*, and *sauna*. If one further searches for the mention of 'Finnish' in the etymology sections of the dictionary four more loan translations could be identified: *Molotov cocktail* and *Molotov breadbasket* (s.v. *Molotov*), *Mannerheim Line*, and *Red Guard* (2a). The following words ultimately go back to Finnish or Finland but are introduced via German: *ijolite*, *ramsayite*, *väyrynenite* (minerals), and *resol* (disinfectant); (Finland) Swedish: *ainalite*, *hackmanite*, *tapiolite* (minerals), *Moomin(troll)* and *palsa* (subarctic vegetation); and Russian: *purga* (blizzard). In six more cases, the OED gives no source language: *Linux* (operating system), *Mellin inversion formula* and *Mellin transform* (in physics), *Savonius* (turbine), *schultenite* (mineral), and *von Willebrand (disease)*. These refer to inventions and scientific discoveries made by Finland Swedes and have little connection to Finnish as a language. *Webster's Third* describes *essive*, *kantele*, *markka*, *penni*, *pulka*, *rapakivi*, and *sauna* as unequivocally Finnish-based. *Molotov cocktail* is derived from Molotov with no reference to Finland. Similarly, *hackmanite*, *ijolite*, *ramsayite*, *resol*, *schultenite*, and *tapiolite*, all mentioned above, are not etymologised as Finnish, while *runo* is only included in the etymology section of the akin Germanic *rune* (3) with the explicit reference to Finnish and the *Kalevala*, which appears to be a semantic

2 Serjeantson does record two words of, arguably, Sami origin: "Lapp is represented by one early loan, **morse** 1475 (French, from Lapp *morsha* 'walrus'), and one from the eighteenth century, **lemming** 1713 (Norw. from Lapp. *luomek*) (1935: 212, emphasis in the original). Cf. OED s.vv.

loan. The *Barnhart 1* records the first attestation of *rya* in American English in 1963, and *Barnhart 2* dates *von Willebrand's disease* to 1973.

Among the twelve loans recorded in the OED, only *sauna* features prominently in other (lay user-geared) dictionaries (see, e.g., *Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary* (1974), *Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary* (1983), *Collins English Dictionary* (2002), s.v.), while *markka*, *penni*, and *runo* have either separate entries or are merged with their Germanic cognates (*Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary* (1983: s.vv. *markka* and *mark* 3, *penni*, *rune* 4); *Collins English Dictionary* (2002: s.vv. *markka*, *penni*, *rune* 3)). *pulka* features only in *Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary* (1983: s.v. *pulka*) and is etymologised as a Lappish word. Further Finnish-based items, which are not attested in the OED, appear in other dictionaries and lay sources such as *Wikipedia*: *Arabia*, *Finglish*, *Fiskars*, *Iittala*, *Kalevala* (also in *Chambers* 1974, *Webster's* 1983, and *Collins* 2002), *Marimekko*, *motti*, *Nokia*, *perkele*, *sisu*, *Suomi* (*Chambers* 1974 and *Collins* 2002), and *tankero*. None of the above words are ancient enough to merit discussion in Liberman's *Bibliography of English Etymology* (2010). So the field looks almost untouched but demarcated clearly enough for a thorough cultivation.

By way of demarcation then, I would like to articulate what this study will do. I focus on the lexical items mentioned above and analyse their first attestations, frequencies, integration, and development in Modern English. The study is limited to Finnish loans of the last 300 years and does not attempt to trace Finnish etymologies in English lexis in the medieval, let alone prehistoric, period, for which a vast body of literature is available.[3] Nor am I going to venture beyond standard English and discuss localised varieties, such as Finnish English in the United States or Canada, or English of English-speaking residents in Finland, etc., which constitute, again, separate areas of study.

In the following sections I proceed chronologically from older to more recent loans, by first discussing the information on Finnish lexis available through the OED and then checking it further against the attestations and frequencies in the corpora developed by Mark Davies at the Brigham Young University – the *Corpus of Historical American English* (COHA), the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA), and the *British National Corpus* (BNC). If this database failed to produce any attestations at all or produced too few attestations, I searched further

3 See extensive bibliography on Finno-Ugric and Germanic early connections in Liberman (2010: 365–367). My approach is further substantiated by the OED that does not record any words as explicitly Finnish-based until 1746.

in the British English and American English parts of the Google Books corpus, available, again, via Brigham Young University site.

My searches in the corpora included eleven loans attested in the OED (excluding *rya* which is Swedish-based), plus *Molotov cocktail* and *Molotov breadbasket*, *Mannerheim Line*, *Red Guard*, and *palsa* (as opposed to Swedish *palse*); artificial word-creations, such as the minerals mentioned above were discarded. Non-OED-based searches included *Finglish*, *Fiskars*, *Iittala*, *Kalevala*, *Marimekko*, *motti*, *Nokia*, *sisu*, and *Suomi*. The brand name *Arabia* had to be discarded as the corpora returned too much irrelevant data on the historical or geographical Arabia, while *perkele* and *tankero* produced no hits at all and were also dropped from the list. A complete list of Finnish loans is provided in Table 1, in the conclusions.

The opening sections below focus on historical circumstances and events that precede the 18th century. Their aim is to show that the contact between English- and Finnish-speaking communities up until the early 19th century was mainly through trade and war, tourism and geographical exploration. In the 1830s two other spheres of life came into the cultural spotlight – linguistics and literary translation, followed by the advent of mass media in the 20th century, which made various aspects of Finnish domestic affairs and private lifestyles known to English-speakers worldwide. That is to say, throughout its history this contact setting has been, to use Leo Loveday's term, "distant non-bilingual" (1996: 17–19; cf. Winford 2003: 30–31), which is straightforwardly reflected in the kind of Finnish loans entering English – mostly cultural loans and exclusively nouns or noun phrases.

Early Connections

It is a well-known and often cited fact that a people called *Fenni* are first mentioned in historical sources by Tacitus (*Germania* A.D. 98) (Valtonen 2008: 75). The first English source to refer to *Finnas* is the *Old English Orosius* dating from the late ninth century. *Finnas* are also listed in the catalogue of nations in *Widsith* (20, 76), and Beowulf is famously washed ashore after his competition with Breca at a place in *Finna land* (*Beo* 580). In all probability both the Latin and Old English ethnonyms originally refer to the Sami rather than Finns, moreover, in poetry *Finnas* and *Finna land* could mean a people from the mythical north, a kind of Ultima Thule (Valtonen 2008: 207–210). The inhabitants of the coastal regions of the Gulf of Bothnia (on both sides, including western Finland) are called *Cwenas* in the *Old English Orosius* and *Kvenir* in the Old Norse material (the Kvens today

being a Finnish-speaking minority in northern Norway). Ethnically *Kvenir* are Finnic – Tavastians, Finns and even Karelians (ibid. 388–393). It is only from the 11th century onwards that the more specific tribal forms (*jem*, *sum*, *korela*) begin to appear in Russian chronicles. At the same time *Finland* emerges in reference to south-western Finland (Varsinais-Suomi 'Finland Proper') in runic-stone inscriptions and in Latin sources of the 12th century (ibid. 383). Another cultural connection to England in the 12th century is the figure of the legendary Bishop Henry, an English (or Scottish) clergyman, who comes to preach in Finland and suffers martyrdom there (Orrman 2003: 424). The first map to roughly locate Finland (*Finlandia*) on the eastern side of the Gulf of Bothnia is the world map of 1306 by an Italian historian and geographer Marino Sanudo (Platt 1955: 3). Following the Northern Crusades of the Swedish kings in the 12th and 13th centuries and the ensuing extension of the Swedish kingdom further and further east and north, the name *Finland* (and also Österland 'Eastland' from 1344) comes to be applied to ever greater territories populated by the Finnish tribes (Vahtola 1993: 191; Platt 1955: 4), until this expansion reaches its easternmost extreme in 1617, and the Treaty of Stolbova is signed between Sweden and Russia, even though the most densely settled areas continue to be southwest, south, and the Bothnic coast (Vahtola 1993: 192).

The contact between the English and Finns for most of this period is through trade, particularly through cloth imports and butter, fish and fur exports (Vahtola 1993: 192–193; Sawyer 2004: 302). Finland has a good record of archaeological finds of English coins from the late tenth century on, from the time of Æthelred II the Unready, although many of those probably come via Sweden or Estonia (Talvio 2006). England expresses a more vested interest in the Baltic region in the middle of the 16th century, when seeking "to explore the possibilities of the Russian market" and challenging the Hanseatic control of the trade in the Baltics, she sets up the Muscovy Company in 1555 (Black 1959: 237–242). Interestingly the word *Finn* re-emerges in the linguistic record, after a 700-years break, soon after that in 1589, in the first volume of Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (OED, s.v. *Finn*).[4] In this volume, Hakluyt quotes and translates medieval accounts of English voyages to northern Europe, including the one we know from the *Old English Orosius*, in order to legitimise contemporary England's growing commercial presence in Scandinavia and the Baltics.

4 The OED actually cites the second edition of 1598–1600.

17th Century: The First Finnish Words

In the 17th century, English trade connections to the Baltic area continue strong, although the main exports shift to iron, copper and tar (Meinander 2011: 42). Moreover, England is seeking to establish stronger ties with the kingdom of Sweden, which, following the Peace of Westphalia of 1648, has become the most influential political and economic power in the Baltics. The accumulation of travel literature from the late 16th century onwards can be seen as "a by-product of trade, exploration, and colonizing" (Bush 1962: 181–182), and ethnographic and linguistic interest is Sweden and Finland is part of this process. It is no coincidence that the first academic descriptions of the northern lands of Europe are translated into English at about the same time. The first to appear is John Streater's *A Compendious History of the Goths, Svvedes & Vandals, and Other Northern Nations* in 1658, a translation of *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus* (originally published in Rome in 1555) by Olaus Magnus, a Swedish writer and the last Catholic Archbishop of Uppsala, living in exile in Rome. And the second is Acton Cremer's 1674 translation of *The History of Lapland* (*Lapponia*, published only a year earlier in Latin) by Johannes Schefferus, a German humanist scholar working in Uppsala. Focusing on Lapland, Schefferus' history also contains the first detailed description of the Finnish language (*the Finnonick Language* or *the Language of the Finlanders*) and makes insightful comparisons between Lapponick and Finnonick (Schefferus 1674: 72–79, ch. 15 "Of the Language of the Laplanders"; cf. OED, s.v. *Finnic*). This volume is our earliest attestation of Finnish words in a text otherwise written in English. To illustrate the claim that the language of the Laplanders derives, as Schefferus believes, from Finnish, he provides a list of Sami and Finnish cognates, respectively: *Immel* vs. *Jumala* 'God'[5], *Tolle* vs. *Tuli* 'Fire', *Paiwe* vs. *Paiwa* 'Day', *Ii* vs. *Yœ* 'Night', *Jaur* vs. *Jarwi* 'A Lake', *Warra* vs. *Wuori* 'a Hill', *Niuna* vs. *Nenæ* 'the Nose', *Iost* vs. *Iuusto* 'Cheese', etc. (1674: 73). In total he discusses some 50 Finnish words and twice as many Sami ones, including some inflected and dialectal forms. To the best of my knowledge, these are the first nonce-loans from Finnish and Sami into English.

5 I keep the spellings and glosses the way they appear in Schefferus' work. The sources in this and the later sections were accessed mostly via Google Books previews.

18th Century: The First OED Entries

The time when Finland begins to feature continuously in European affairs are the two series of military campaigns (during the Wars for Spanish and Austrian Succession) that are fought between Sweden and Russia – the so-called Great Northern War (1700–1721) and the Little Wrath (1741–1743) –, which both end in Russian occupation of Finland and consequent territorial losses for Sweden. It is from this period onwards that Finnish loans began to feature in the OED. These are, chronologically, *pulka*, *runo*, and *rapakivi*.

pulka (1746)
The earliest Finnish loanword recorded by the OED is *pulka*. It is derived from Finnish *pulkka*, and Sami *pulkke* is given as its cognate.[6] The OED defines it as "a Lapp one-person travelling-sledge shaped like the front half of a boat, typically drawn by a single reindeer. Also: a small carrying-sledge with a rigid harness, to be pulled by a person or dog." The first quotation from a travel report in the monthly miscellany *The Gentleman's Magazine* reads as follows:

> They take pulkas drawn by rain-deer, and send back the horses. (*Gentleman's Mag*. 1746 Mar. 131/1)

Remarkably, in its first attestation this nonce-loan takes the English plural inflection. All in all *pulka* is attested 11 times in the OED between 1746 and 1998 in travelogues and articles on tourism in Finland, on average every 10 to 30 years, with longer intervals between 1808 and 1881 and between 1881 and 1952. The record of *pulka* in the corpora is different. Firstly, my previous study (Timofeeva 2013) showed that *pulka* is not attested in COHA, COCA or BNC, i.e., neither in historical nor contemporary databases. I, therefore, conducted new searches in Google Books: British English (34 billion words) and Google Books: American English (155 billion words). These corpora, notoriously, give you a lot of noise together with valuable data. Accordingly, I found *pulkas* of Hungarian, Indian, and Australian origin there that had nothing in common with travelling sledges. What the search helped to establish though was that the Finnish *pulka* is only attested in Google Books from 1810s in British English (BrE) and from 1820s in American English (AmE), with frequencies rising to 0.01 and occasionally above in 1810s, 1840s (0.02), 1860s, 1930s (0.11), 1950–60s in BrE and 1870–80s,

6 Norwegian *pulk* derived from Sami *pulkke* enters English in 1831 (OED, s.v. *pulk* n.4).

1930s, 1950–60s in AmE. The contexts for *pulka* remain travelogue and tourism literature, but also dictionaries and encyclopaedias that contain entries on Lapland. Thus, essentially, and like so many later Finnish loans, *pulka* never ceases to be an exotic word bound to its ethnic context.

runo (1780)

The second word in terms of chronology is *runo* "in Finland: a short poem or song on an epic or legendary subject; spec. one of the songs which together constitute the Kalevala, an epic poem compiled in the nineteenth century" (OED, s.v.), with 5 attestations between 1780 and 2007 in articles on ethnology and musicology. As the timeframe and the number of attestations suggest, the borrowing of *runo* is far from being a continuous story.

> There are three different species of poetry in the Findlandish tongue... The first of these is the oldest and the original one; it is called in the single number *run*; and in the plural, *runot*; and consists of a kind of trochaic verse of eight syllables. (emphasis added; *Crit. Rev.* 1780 July 143)

After the first OED record of 1780, the other four surface in 1850, 1895, 1954, and 2007. There are 9 attestations of *runo* in the COCA, all of them featuring in a novel set in Finland, *Night of Summer, Night of Autumn* (1992) by one Paula Ivaska Robbins. Historical data from before 1992 can, therefore, only be obtained from the Google Books[7]. These searches uncover one publication in 1820 in *The Monthly Repository of Theology and General Literature*, vol. 15, p. 243, quoting a runo (*Kävi käsky taivahasta* 'Summons came from heaven') in full with an English translation. This periodical also introduces a few other Finnish terms and mythical names: *runolainen* 'the singer or poet', *Kawe* 'the father of the gods', *Wæinæmæinen* 'the spirit of good and the inventor of the harp', *Hiisi* 'the omnipotent principle of evil', *Kiwutar* 'the divine mother'. The next attestation is in the 1841 edition of the *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind* by James Cowles Prichard. Chapter 5 in the third volume of the work (pp. 288–295) contains a detailed account "Of the religion and poetry of the Finns and Lappes" introducing its reader to the traditions of Finland's poetry, poetic terms, and the main Finnish deities and epic heroes, e.g., *runo* and its plural form *runot*, *runoniecka* 'poet', *Iumala – Iumalat* 'god – gods' (see above), *Ukko* 'Senex, to

7 Google Books statistics for this word are extremely unreliable: most of the *runo* attestations refer to proper names or to the Island of Runö in the Gulf of Riga. The plural *runot* comes up in bibliographies rather than running English texts.

whom thunder belonged, and the domain of the firmament', *Caleva* 'a giant, or the father of twelve giants', *Tapio* 'the god of the woods', *Väinämöinen* 'the Apollo of the Finns', *Perkele* 'the author of bodily ailments', *Tuonala* 'Hades' several terms for sorcerers: *Tietägät*, *Indomiehat*, *Welhot*, *Noidat*, etc. Most of these terms appear here for the first time before the publication of the English translation of *Kalevala* in 1868 (see details below). On top of that the previous section in the same chapter "Of the Arts and Civilisation and the Social State of the Finnish Race at the era of their conquest by the Swedes" records several Finnish words "relating to any kind of public ordinance": *wero* 'custom, tax', *sakko* 'penance', *wapa* 'freeman', *kylâ* 'village'; trades and metals: *seppa* 'smith', *rauta* 'iron', *tekaes* 'steel', *vaski* 'copper', *hopia* 'silver', etc. With both the 1820 and 1841 references to *runo* featuring in the British sources, continuous attestations surface only from 1880s on in both British and American English.

rapakivi (1784)

Four years later English supposedly borrows *rapakivi* (from Finnish *rapakivi* etymologically 'a mud-stone') "a form of granite originally identified in southern Finland, characterized by large ovoid crystals of potassium feldspar surrounded by plagioclase" (OED, s.v.). This mineral has 7 attestations in the OED in journals on mineralogy between 1784 and 1996, but no record in the COHA, COCA or BNC. Google Books corpora suggest, however, that *rapakivi* appears sporadically in AmE in 1800s, 1820–30s, 1890s, and continuously from 1910s onwards, with the frequency peak of 0.06 per mil in the 1960s. It shows up in BrE in 1810–20s and 1920s, and continuously from 1940s onwards, being far more frequent in BrE today with 0.04 per mil (AmE frequencies are below 0.01).

Judging by the fact that *pulka* continues to be glossed in the eighteenth-century sources "This sledge, called pulkha" (1768), "Pulkha, a Laplander's, &c. travelling sledge" (1790), while *runo* and *rapakivi* have more regular attestations only in the 19th century, it seems reasonable to conclude that their eighteenth-century forms are nonce-loans on par with other exotic lexis mentioned earlier in this section.

19th Century: Logocentrism, National Currency, and Finnish Habits

During the Napoleonic Wars, Finland is finally lost to Russia, and in 1809 the Diet of Porvoo establishes the Grand Duchy of Finland with autonomous rights, essentially laying a foundation of a nation-state within the Russian Empire (Kirby

2006: 73–87). As in many other parts of Europe, the 19th century is a period when Finnish cultural identity is being shaped through "the study of folklore and rediscovery and piecing together of popular epic poetry, … the publication of [vernacular] grammars and dictionaries," periodicals and national histories, and the vernacularisation of schools (cf. Anderson 1991: 67–82). To focus on folklore and epic, which is more relevant for the present study, the work of several generations of philologists, folklorists, and humanists such as Porthan, Ganander, Tengström, von Becker, Arwidsson, Gottlund, Topelius the Elder, and others, culminates in two major publications by Elias Lönnrot: the national epic *Kalevala* (*Kalewala, taikka Wanhoja Karjalan Runoja Suomen Kansan Muinosista Ajoista* 'Kalevala, or old Karelian poems of the ancient past of the Finnish people') in 1835–36, with the second extended edition (now standard) appearing in 1849, and the collection of lyric and ballads *Kanteletar, taikka Suomen Kansan Wanhoja Lauluja ja Wirsiä* ('Kanteletar, or old songs and ballads of the Finnish people') in 1840–41. Of these two, only the *Kalevala* is translated into English in the nineteenth century (Branch 1998: 3–4). The most influential German translation by a St. Petersburg-based German linguist Franz Anton Schiefner is published in 1852. Many of the successive translations into other languages are going to be based on Schiefner, including the first English translation by John A. Porter of 1868 and the first complete translation by John Crawford of 1888, both produced in the United States.[8] The earliest discussion of the *Kalevala* in the English-speaking world dates, however, to late 1850s. Following the success of the *Song of Hiawatha* (1855), Henry Wadsworth Longfellow was baselessly accused of having plagiarised from the *Kalevala*.[9] Public interest in the Finnish epic (and in the scandal that surrounded it) was consequently very wide both in England and the US (Haynes 2006: 432–434).

Another important aspect of the Finnish national movement that has a bearing in this discussion is the nineteenth-century preoccupation with linguistic studies. Several Finnish grammars and studies of Finnish dialects and other Finno-Ugric languages are published in this period by such luminaries as Henrik Gabriel

8 To complete the 19th-century Finnish literary canon, seventeen more books are published between 1872 and 1900. These, above all, include translations of the two Finland-Swedish classics, poetry by Johan Ludvig Runeberg (e.g., *Lyrical Songs*, *Idylls and Epigrams* (1878), *Nadeschda* (1879)) and fairy-tales and historical novels by Zacharias Topelius (the Younger) (e.g., *The Surgeon Stories* (1872–1884)) (Bjork 2006: 291–293).

9 Even though Longfellow had learnt some Finnish, his knowledge of the *Kalevala* was, again, via Schiefner's text.

Porthan (*De praecipuis dialectis linguae fennicae* 1801) and Mathias Alexander Castrén (*De affinitate declinationum in lingua Fennica, Esthonica et Lapponica* 1839, to name just one title published during his short but prolific life), but also by lesser known scholars as Jaakko Juteini (Finnish grammar 1818), Anders Johan Sjögren (Komi grammar 1829), Fabian Collan (Finnish grammar 1847), and Herman Kellgren (several publications in the 1840s on the history of Finnish and the development of Finno-Ugric languages). The fundamental lexicographic achievement of the time was the publication of *Suomalainen Sana-Kirja; Lexicon Linguae Fennicae* in two volumes by Gustaf Renvall in 1826.[10] The fact that all of these works were published either in Swedish, German or Latin made them readily accessible to wide audiences of scholars outside Finland, but most importantly in Germany, the centre of linguistic and philological research. Consequently, the linguistic terminology invented by Finns was also used by their colleagues working on other languages or in comparative linguistics.

Finally, one last development in the national-identity sphere should be mentioned – this time in the financial system. In 1860, Alexander I authorised the issue of a Finnish currency, the markka and penni, replacing the Russian rouble and kopek (Kirby 2006: 110). Thus a new currency and new concept was also introduced to international currency operations and stock exchange. With these major developments in mind, I would now like to address Finnish loans of the 19th century.

kantele (1827)

In the OED *kantele* is etymologised as Finnish and defined as "a form of zither used in Finland and Karelia" (s.v.). The word has 3 attestations between 1921 and 1969: two in musical reviews and one in a novel set in Finland (cf. Timofeeva 2013: 168–169). The data from Google Books, however, suggest an earlier dating. Rich attestations in BrE from the 1860s are without interruption, reaching a frequency peak of 0.07 in 1930s. In AmE the record is continuous also from the 1860s, but the frequencies are lower. The earliest reference in BrE dates to 1827

10 Renvall also published his version of Finnish grammar based on Western dialects in 1840. Many Finnish grammars and dictionaries are, of course, pre-nineteenth-century, such as the grammars by Petraeus (1649), Martinius (1689), Vhaël (1733), and the dictionaries by Schroderus (1637), Kurch (1644), Florinus (1678), Juslenius (1745), Ganander (ready in 1787, but unpublished until 1937). For a concise survey of the Finnish linguistic and lexicographic achievement in the 17–19th centuries, see Laitinen & Schoolfield (1998: 40–60); for a detailed discussion of Anglo-Saxon etymologies in Ganander's dictionary see Kilpiö (2011).

issue of *The Westminster Review* (vol. 7, no. 14), which contains a survey article on "Runes of Finland" based on Renvall's Finnish dictionary of 1826 and a collection of traditional Finnish poetry published in Uppsala in 1819. The survey quotes extensively from the runes themselves, including the rune on the birth of kantele. *The American Cyclopædia* by George Ripley and Charles A. Dana (NY, 1859) is the earliest record of *kantele* in AmE, both the British and American publications, thus, predating the OED by 94 and 62 years respectively.

Suomi (1834)

In both British and American English the first attestations of *Suomi* date to 1834. The sources, two geographical encyclopaedias, use the word to refer to Finns (British) or generically to all the Finno-Ugric peoples (American). I give these first citations in full:

> The *Finnish proper*, or *Sumenkieli* [sic], spoken by the Suomi, better known as the Fins or Finlanders. Its principal dialects are, the Finlandish, the Tawastian, the Carelian or Kyriala, the Olonetzian, and the Watalaiset. (italics original; Hugh Murray et al, *An Encyclopædia of Geography*, London, 1834: iii.3.307)

> The race is dispersed from Scandinavia to the north of Asia, and from the last regions of the Wolga and the Caspian sea. … The ancient national name of the Finns is now lost; it is even doubtful if they had any. They style themselves at present the *Sami*, *Suomi*, and *Suomi-Lainen* or the people of the country. (italics original; M. Malte-Brun et al, *A System of Universal Geography*, vol. 2, Boston, 1934: cv.490)

In BrE the record is continuous, with frequencies fluctuating between 0.01 and 0.21 (in 1930s and 2000s), while in AmE there is a gap in the 1840s. From 1850s onwards frequencies range from 0.01 to 0.19 per mil (in 1980s).

Kalevala (1844)

Neither the OED nor *Webster's Third* record *Kalevala*, but one can find its entry in, e.g., in *Webster's* 1983, which defines it as "a Finnish epic poem in unrhymed trochaic verse, compiled by Elias Lönnrot from the oral transmission of folklore and mythology and first published in 1835," supplying the following etymology – "Finn.; *kaleva*, heroic, and *-la*, abode, hence, lit., land of heroes" (s.v.). In Google Books, the word (spelt as *Kalevala* or *Kalewala*) has a continuous record in both BrE and AmE from the 1840s, with the first identifiable source, *New Sketches of Every-day Life: A Diary* by Fredrika Bremer, translated into English by Mary Howitt, being published simultaneously in London and New York in 1844. In BrE, the frequencies are already at 0.04 per mil in the 1840s falling back to 0.02 in the

following decade and reaching a sharp peak of 0.61 in the 1890s. In the twentieth century they fluctuate between 0.14 (1980s) and 0.33 per mil (1930s). In AmE, the frequencies range between 0.01 (1850s) and 0.19 (1880s) in the nineteenth century and between 0.11 (1950s) and 0.38 per mil (1990s) in the twentieth. As in BrE, a significant increase takes place in the late 1880s-early 1890s, when Crawford's 1888 translation of the full version of *Kalevala* is published and reprinted, and the discussion of Longfellow's plagiarism is refuelled.

markka and *penni* (1866)

As expected perhaps, the two monetary units enter English soon after the introduction of the new currency in Finland. Financial language is the first to react to the new situation. *Commercial Reports Received at the Foreign Office from Her Majesty's Consuls* in Vyborg in June 1866 say:

> The mark in the Swedish, or markka in the Finnish language, is divided into 100 penni. (p. 296)

and are followed by exchange rates to rouble, German mark,[11] and pound sterling. Earlier on in the same section on "The Finnish Mint Reform" (p. 295), the consul reports:

> With reference to my remarks in my Annual Reports for 1860 and 1862, under the rubric of New Finnish Coin, I have now to state that…

The former annual report having been written in the same year as the introduction of Finnish *markka* and *penni*, it would seem that the first mention of *markka* and *penni* in English might also go back to 1860, which I have not been able to verify in Google Books. The OED, however, dates the first attestation of *markka* to 1894 and *penni* to 1881. *markka* has a good record in the COCA (7 attestations) and the BNC (20). Google Books record two frequency peaks for BrE in the 1910s (0.10 per mil) and 1990s (0.12 per mil), and in AmE in the 1980s (0.07 per mil).[12] The frequencies drop in both varieties in the 2000s following the introduction of euros and cents in Finland in 2002.

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11 Both *markka* and *penni* are ultimately Germanic in origin, cf. OED (s.vv. *mark* n.2 and *penny* n.).

12 There is a lot of noise in the nineteenth-century data due to *Markka(s)* used as proper names. The frequencies of *penni* are likewise hard to establish because of noise.

essive (1870)

The OED derives *essive* from Finnish *essiivi* and defines it as "the designation of one of the fifteen cases of Finnish, a declension expressing a continuous state of being, existence in a specified state or capacity" (s.v.). It has 3 attestations in the OED between 1890 and 1924 in books and articles on Finnish grammar. Even though I was able to find an earlier example of *essive* in British English in the *Families of Speech* by Frederic W. Farrar (London, 1870: 171), I do not think that this grammatical term should at all be included in the lists of Finnish-based lexis. First of all, *essive* is not the only grammatical case that enters English from grammars of the Finnish language. Among others one could name at least *abessive* (OED s.v.), *adessive* (OED s.v. A), *comitative* (OED s.v.), *instructive* (OED s.v. b), and *traslative* (OED s.v. 5), as the OED definitions and citations for these terms indicate that they were either first introduced or are used exclusively in reference to the Finno-Ugric languages. However, judging by the fact that the first grammars were never written in Finnish, but rather in Swedish, the official university language, or in Latin or German, the international scholarly languages, it is highly unlikely that any linguistic terminology could enter English directly from Finnish. Moreover, all the six case-names are Latin-based neologisms.

sauna (1881)

Since a full account of the history of *sauna* in English appears in my recent article (Timofeeva 2013: 169–171), I limit this section to only a few observations. The OED dates the first attestation of *sauna* to 1881, which is confirmed by the absence of any attestations prior to 1881 in the Google Books data. It defines *sauna* as "a bath-house or bathroom in which the Finnish steam bath is taken; the steam bath itself, taken in very hot steam produced by throwing water on to heated stones" and observes that the noun can be used attributively, as in *sauna bath*, *sauna heat*, etc., and as the derivation base in *sauna-like* 'oppressively hot and steamy' (s.v.). The OED has 10 attestations of *sauna* between 1881 and 1978, a typical example being:

> But in Finland a sauna is not just a bath – it is a way of life. A sauna is to a Finn what a pub is to a Britisher, what a café is to a Frenchman, what a television set is to an American. (A. Buchwald, *I chose Caviar* 1957: 31)

sauna is the most frequent Finnish loan in English. It has 210 attestations (180 in the singular and 30 in the plural) in the COHA (from 1944 to 2009), 655 attestations (541 singular and 114 plural) in the COCA, and 328 attestations (294 singular and 34 plural) in the BNC. It is also one of the two words to go over the

1 per mil threshold in Google Books (the second one being *Nokia*): BrE 1.93 in 1990s and 2.35 in 2000s, AmE 1.26 in 1990s and 1.53 in 2000s.[13]

puukko (1885)

The etymology section on *puukko* in the OED describes the word as "Finnish *puukko* knife with a simple blade, regarded as the Finnish national weapon." The definition is "a traditional Finnish knife, esp. one with a wooden hilt and a single curved edge, worn on the belt and used as a working tool" (s.v). The OED has 5 attestations between 1925 and 2005: three in articles on tourism in Finland and two in novels either set in Finland or containing encounters with Finns. *puukko* is also attested 3 times in the COCA. The earliest mention of the word in Google Books, however, predates the one in the OED by 40 years. In AmE it is first encountered in 1885 in the fifth volume of the translation of *The Surgeon's Stories* by Zacharias Topelius (Jansen, McClurg & Co.), and in BrE it occurs in *Through Finland in Carts* by Ethel Alec-Tweedie (London: 1897), if searched manually through the Google Books entries. Searches by means of BYU software return hits only in the AmE part of the corpus, with *puukko* being attested once in a decade from 1880s but frequencies below 0.01 per mil and lots of noise.

20th century: emigration, independence, *Niet Molotoff!* and Finnish mineralogy and luxury goods

In the 1870s the world was hit by a global economic recession for the first time. In Finland, whose economy was weakened by the divisions between industrialised south and agricultural central and northern hinterland dependent on small-scale arable farming, and frustrated by the epidemics and famine of the late 1860s, the crisis was felt very acutely, resulting in growing emigration to Sweden and Norway and, above all, to America. In the 1890s, political pressure from Russia aimed at a fuller integration of the Grand Duchy into the Empire became the major contributing factor for emigration, which hit a record of 23,310 people going to America alone in 1902. Some 264,000 Finns (or 88 per cent of all immigrants) came to the USA between 1893 and 1914 (Kirby 2006: 110–113, 127–142; Alanen 2012: 6–10).

Political unrest at home and the strife for independence were growing, culminating in the assassination of the Russian governor-general Nikolay Bobrikov

13 The Google Books data for before 1881 are noise, with the proper name *Sauna(s)* constituting to most of the hits.

by a Finnish patriot Eugen Schauman on 16 June 1904.[14] Finland's government was finally able to declare an independent Republic of Finland in 1917, just over a month after the October Revolution in Russia.[15] This, however, failed to resolve internal conflicts between the social-democrat Reds and conservative Whites. One of the most traumatic wars in Finnish history, the Civil War, broke out in late January 1918 and lasted for three months claiming the lives of about 37,000 people (more than one per cent of the population), who were killed in action, executed, or died in concentration camps (Kirby 2006: 158–162). The Whites were victorious but peace was not to last long.

Sympathetic to the class struggle in Finland and the eventual establishment of a Finnish socialist republic as the Bolsheviks might have been, they were not going to tolerate bourgeois nationalism of the ex-colony (ibid.: 199). Following a fabricated border incident Finland was forced into the so-called Winter War (to last another three months during the winter of 1939–1940). By the Treaty of Moscow that she had to sign on 13 March 1940, Finland ceded several territories in the north and the Arctic to Russia, the most devastating loss, however, being the northern and western bank of lake Ladoga and the bay of Vyborg on the Karelian isthmus, including Vyborg itself, one of the biggest Finnish cities and the oldest fortress on the eastern border, the blow that hit Finnish identity hardest of all (ibid.: 214–215). Seeking to reverse history a year later, Finland joined World War II and German offensive on the Soviet Union, the wartime leaders insisting though that this was a separate and defensive war, which is known today as Continuation War of 1941–1944. Regaining the territories ceded in 1940 and conquering East Karelia, Finnish

14 This event has an unexpected connection to one of the twentieth-century English-language classics. The date of 16 June 1904 is known as Bloomsday, the day during which the events of James Joyce's *Ulysses* take place. Joyce refers to the Helsinki assassination in the "Aeolus" episode when J. J. O'Molloy mocks Stephen:

> – Like fellows who had blown up the Bastile, … Or was it you shot the lord lieutenant of Finland between you? You look as though you had done the deed. General Bobrikoff. …
> – We were only thinking about it, Stephen said.

The political connection between Finland and Ireland of the time is not hard to make, particularly because the title of the Russian satrap – governor general of Finland – and that of the English one – lord lieutenant of Ireland – are amalgamated by Joyce.

15 The parliament of Finland adopted the declaration on 6 December 1917, and on 18 December the new Soviet government recognised Finland's independence issuing a degree signed by Lenin and his ministers.

forces cut off the northern roads and railways to Leningrad and, thus, essentially took part in the siege of the city. The disengagement from the infamous alliance with Germany cost dear: Finland had to expel the remaining German troops from its territories in Lapland, to cede more lands than in 1940, to pay heavy reparations to the Soviet Union, and to put the former president Risto Ryti and seven war-time ministers and officials on trial for war responsibility (ibid.: 222–238).

A lot of the twentieth-century post-war external history of Finland continues to be influenced by her relations with the eastern neighbour, particularly during the presidencies of Juho Kusti Paasikivi (1946–1956) and the charismatic Urho Kekkonen (1956–1981). Finland's neutrality in Cold War does not preclude her, however, from integration into emerging European economic structures: in 1961 she becomes an associate member of European Free Trade Association (full member in 1985) and in 1973 signs agreements on trade with the European Economic Community and the eastern bloc trading association, Comecon, in 1973–1975 Helsinki hosts the first Conferences on Security and Co-operation in Europe, and in 1995 Finland becomes a member of the European Union following a national referendum (Kirby 2006: 254–283). While about 40 per cent of the loans discussed in the following sections go back to the times of wars and political unrest, the other 60 per cent reflect more peaceful times when the world got to know about Finnish manufacturers, geologists, sportsmen, and designers.

Nokia (1900)

The rapids of Nokia are first mentioned in the 1880s, Nokia paper mills, however, feature in English-language press from the 1900s, appearing for the first time in AmE in 1900 (*Special Consular Reports* on paper industries, issue 3948, p. 488) and in BrE in 1904 (*The Calendar*, published by the University of Manchester, p. 824). In AmE *Nokia* collocates with *factory* from the 1930s, and in the 1980s *Nokia electronics* become most prominent, with frequencies reaching 0.02 per mil in the 1980s, 0.10 in the 1990s, and peaking 0.89 in the 2000s. In BrE the 0.02 per mil threshold is reached already in the 1970s, and frequencies keep rising to 0.08 in the 1980s, 0.25 in the 1990s, and 1.26 in the 2000s, perhaps reflecting a greater concern with Finnish economics shown by the British sources.

Fiskars (1902)

Among the Finnish brand names with international renown *Fiskars* is the first to enter linguistic record. The company is famous today for its steel tools for home, garden and outdoors, with orange-handled scissors being one of Fiskars' most recognisable products. In BrE, *Fiskars Works* are first mentioned in 1902 in *Finland: Its Public and Private Economy* (London) by a Danish economist N.C.

Frederiksen, who describes the factory as "well-known." It has a few attestations in the 1910s, without interruption from the 1930s with a 0.14 per mil frequency peak in 1990s. The first mention in American sources dates to 1906 (*Mines Register*, vol. 6, p. 885), with later attestations in the 1900–1930s, continuous from the 1950s peaking at 0.01 per mil in 1990s and 0.02 per mil in 2000s. The most frequent collocates are *Fiskars tools* and *Fiskars company*.

Red Guard (1906)
Etymologically *Red Guard* is a loan-translation of Finnish *Punakaarti* 'red guard.' This organisation of mainly working-class militias was formed during the Finnish general strike of 1905. The Red Guard played an important role during the rebellion of the Russian garrison in the fortress of Sveaborg (in the Bay of Helsinki), which is aptly demonstrated by the first attestation of *Red Guard* in the OED (s.v. 2a):

> The Sveaborg mutiny was prepared a long time beforehand by agitators belonging to the advanced group of the Russian Social Democrats, who also negotiated with the Finnish Red Guard to support the movement. (*Times* 1906, 4 Aug. 5/1)

The OED has four attestations altogether in 1906, 1922, 1956, and 1992. In both British and American English *Red Guard* (or *red guard*) is attested continuously from the 1910s onwards; however, the frequencies in Google Books are unreliable as Red Guards were later also formed in other countries, e.g., *Krasnaja Gvardija* in Russia in 1917 and *hongweibing* in China in 1966, both producing identical calques in English. A search for *Finnish Red Guard* produced hits only in AmE, where the collocation features continuously from the 1910s to 1930s and from the 1950s to 2000s, but since the organisation was not active after 1920, the use of *Red Guard* became historical (cf. OED).

Salpausselkä (1923)
The OED defines *Salpausselkä* as "each of two long, wide end moraines in southern Finland that are regarded as marking the last readvance of the ice sheet at the end of the Pleistocene." Its etymology is Finnish, and its usage, clearly, only professional – *Salpausselkä* is attested 5 times (in 1923, 1937, 1957 (twice), and 1968) in scholarly articles on geology (OED, s.v.). There are no attestations in the corpora or in Google Books.

sisu (1927)
sisu is first introduced into AmE in 1927 by the authors of *The Athletic Finn: Some Reasons why the Finns Excel in Athletics*:

> This quality is expressed in their language by the word *sisu*. "Suomalainen sisu" – "Finnish sisu" – is a proverbial expression among the Finns. There is no equivalent in our language for this word, – endurance, stamina, perseverance, grit, are words that most nearly correspond to it in English. It denotes a determined and co-extensive effort of mind and body to consummate a difficult task in the face of the most formidable odds. This quality, as we have illustrated, is certainly innate in the Finns. (*The Athletic Finn*, 84–85)

This book was published by the Suomi Publishing Co. in Hancock, Michigan, and co-authored by its general editor K.P. Silberg and the four Finnish runners, the legendary "Flying Finns" of the 1920s, Paavo Nurmi, Ville Ritola, Hannes Kolehmainen, and Albin Stenroos. The word re-emerges in 1939 and becomes frequent in the 1940s, during the World War II, and is used in both AmE and BrE to describe Finnish military perseverance. Overall, however, it is difficult to judge the frequencies of *sisu* in twentieth-century data, as the results are skewed by numerous occurrences of Indian *sisu trees* (*shisham*) in Google Books.

ryijy (1929)

In the OED's entry, *rya* "a Finnish and Scandinavian type of knotted pile rug" is derived from Finnish *ryijy* and its etymon Swedish *rya*, with 6 attestations of *rya* (one of them saying explicitly *Swedish rya*) between 1921 and 2008, and 2 attestations of *ryijy* in 1926 and 1964 in articles on Scandinavian textiles (s.v.). Further, *rya* has one attestation in COHA, in a description of a supposedly stylish home design in a short story by Diane Ackerman; the form *ryijy* is not attested in either COHA, COCA or BNC. The Google Books corpus supports the 1926 date for the earliest attestation of *ryijy* in English. This book, however, is an English translation of Uuno Taavi Sirelius' *Suomalaiset ryijyt* ('Finnish rugs'), which was published in Helsinki. Sirelius being at the time the leading authority on traditional Finnish textiles and on Finno-Ugric folklore more generally, his *Ryijy-rugs of Finland* became a standard reference volume in the field already in the 1930s. The first attestation of *ryijy* in BrE can be found in Dorothy Drage's *Rug Making* (London, 1929), while the earliest quotation in AmE is two years later, in vol. 6 of the *Arts Magazine* for 1931 (New York). AmE has continuous attestations of *ryijy* from 1930s to 2000s with a peak of 0.01 per mil in the 1960s, while BrE has 'No matching strings' for this period.

palsa (1938)

According to the OED *palsa* is "a landform of subarctic regions, consisting of a mound or ridge of peat covered with vegetation and containing a core of permanently frozen peat or mineral soil in which are numerous ice lenses." The

lemma includes, however, several forms: *palse* derived from Swedish *palse–palsar*, plural *palsen* derived from German plural form *Palsen*, and *pals(a)* derived from Finnish/Sami *palsa*. The OED citations illustrate all of these forms: *pals* (1938), *palsen* (1940, 1954), *palsas* (1973, 1990). My search for the form *palsa* in the Google Books dates its first attestation to 1949 in the American journal *Geological Survey*. From the 1960s to 1980s, frequencies rise and stay high in the 1990s, never reaching 0.01 per mil though. The data prior to 1949 is difficult to interpret due to noise. *palsa* has no record in the BrE part of the Google Books.

Mannerheim Line (1939)
The OED traces *Mannerheim Line* back to Finnish *Mannerheim-linja* and defines it as "a fortified defence line across the Karelian Isthmus, built in the 1930s to protect Finland from attack by Russia" (s.v.). Early in the Winter War the defence line was called after Carl Gustaf Emil Mannerheim, the commander-in-chief of the Finnish Defence Forces from 1939 to 1945 (and President of Finland from 1944 to 1946). A loan-translation of the eponym appeared almost immediately in the English-language press:

> In the south the Mannerheim Line, a system of prepared defences in depth.., extends right across the Karelian Isthmus from the Gulf of Finland to Lake Ladoga. (*Times* 8 Dec. 1939, 9/3)

In both BrE and AmE the phrase is attested continuously from 1939, with a peak of 0.44 per mil in the 1940s in BrE and 0.15 per mil in AmE. In both varieties frequencies gradually drop between the 1950s and 2000s (from 0.07 to 0.02 and from 0.03 to 0.01, respectively).

Molotov breadbasket (1940) and *Molotov cocktail* (1940)
David L. Gold (2009) makes a persuasive case for both eponyms originating as loan-translations of Finnish Winter-war slang. Vyacheslav Mikhaylovich Molotov, who was Soviet Minister for Foreign Affairs at the time, made himself particularly loathsome to the Finnish soldiers by his radio broadcasts that blamed Finland for starting the war and pictured the Soviet attack as an act of self-defence and friendly support of the Finnish people against the ill will of their government. At least two dozens of slang terms emerged that punned on Molotov's speeches in one way or another. *Molotovin leipäkori* 'Molotov's breadbasket' was a nickname for Soviet containers "carrying high explosive and scattering incendiary bombs," and *Molotovin koktaili* 'Molotov's cocktail' was first intended as a return 'treat' for Molotov himself, defined by the OED as "a makeshift incendiary device for

throwing by hand, consisting of a bottle or other breakable container filled with flammable liquid and with a piece of cloth, etc., as a fuse" (s.v. *Molotov*). *Molotov breadbasket* must have had very limited currency outside war-time media reports. Although the OED quotes five examples – four from the 1940s and one from 1992 – my searches in the Google Books produced no results in either BrE or AmE. This is contrasted by the rising frequencies of *Molotov cocktail* in both varieties: in AmE from 0.02 per mil in the 1940s to 0.17 per mil in the 1970s, in BrE from 0.06 (1940s) to 0.15 per mil (1970s).

motti (tactics) (1940)
motti is yet another military slang term that enters the English of the 1940s. Originally meaning 'boiler, pot' *motti* refers to the tactic of encircling the enemy and keeping it in the 'pot' by cutting out all the supplies. The few attestations that can be dated are from the 1940s and 1950s. The frequencies, however, are almost completely obscured by the occurrence of the homonymous Italian lastname and other noise. Relevant data comes only from military accounts and later on from historical works.

Winter War (1940)
In this case the OED does not provide the etymology but simply defines the phrase as "the war between the U.S.S.R. and Finland in 1939–40" (s.v. *winter*, Compounds: C2 a). Since in Russian historiography the term *Soviet-Finnish War* is more common, I suggest that Finnish *Talvisota* 'winter-war' may be the source for the English loan-translation. The earliest example in the OED dates from 1942, but the Google Books data show that 1940 in both varieties is probably a better candidate (no previews are unfortunately available for the 1940 publications, and the frequencies are skewed by the collocations of *winter war* in non-Finnish contexts). The frequencies of *Winter War* are highest in the 1960s through 1980s: 0.18–0.16 per mil in BrE and 0.1–0.09 per mil in AmE.

Finglish (1944)
Finglish, a term for a variety of Finnish spoken in the US and Canada with an admixture of English lexis is attested only in AmE from 1944:

> With time a new dialect is developing, a mixture of English and Finnish which is now commonly called "Finglish." But the *Kalevala* is still known and recited. (Grace Lee Nute, *Lake Superior*)

The attestations appear continuous, with frequencies staying below 0.01 per mil and a lot of noise arising from the confusion of *English* and *Finglish* by the software.

Continuation War (1952)
This term is a loan-translation of Finnish *Jatkosota*. Collocation hits in the Google Books seem to point to 1952 as the earliest possible date of borrowing, but no previews of these publications are available. Frequencies rise to 0.01 per mil in AmE and stay more or less stable overtime (dropping to below 0.01 only in the 1970s). In BrE frequencies are highest in the 1960s (0.04 per mil) and drop to 0.02 in the 1970s and 0.01 in the 1990s.

Iittala (1954)
This brand name is attested continuously in AmE from the 1950s to 2000s, with its most characteristic collocates being *glassworks*, *glass*, *glassware*, *mark*, *design*, *goods*, etc., but the frequencies staying below 0.01 per mil. My searches in BrE returned no hits in Google Books (British). Going through the 1950s quotations manually, however, uncovered a few attestations, the earliest in one of the issues of the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* (1956, vol. 105). It therefore looks probable that more references to *Iittala* could be found in the later decades. In AmE, the earliest citation can be dated to 1954, Edgar Kaufmann's book *What is Modern Design* (New York: Museum of Modern Design).

laitakarite (1959)
laitakarite is "a white rhombohedral selenide and sulphide of bismuth", the OED deriving it from Finnish *laitakariittii* (with one <i> too many for *laitakariitti*). As the earliest citation illustrates the mineral was named after its discoverer Aarne Laitakari (1890–1975), director of the Geological Survey of Finland:

> The new mineral was named, in the honour of the discoverer of the material from which it was disclosed, laitakarite, and it is supposed to be isomorphous with joseite. (*Mineral. Abstr.* 1959, XIV. 139/2)

With three OED attestations 1959, 1963, and 1968 in journals on mineralogy, *laitakarite* has no occurrences in the Google Books.

Marimekko (1961)
As with *Iittala*, *Marimekko* brand also seems to have reached the US sooner than Britain. Their textiles are first referred to by Erik Zahle in his *A Treasury of Scandinavian Design* (New York, 1961). The frequencies stay at 0.01 in the 1960–70s and 1990–2000s and rise 0.02 per mil in the 1980s. In BrE, the earliest attestation can be dated to 1966, Colin Simpson's guidebook to *The Viking Circle: Denmark*, *Greenland*, *Norway*, *Sweden*, *Finland*, *Iceland* (London). The frequencies of *Marimekko* stay at 0.01 per mil from the 1960s to 2000s, with the most common collocates in both varieties being *dress*, *print*, *fabrics*, *design*, etc.

Conclusions

By way of conclusions I would like to suggest several taxonomies of Finnish loans in modern English. It has become clear from the previous sections that only a handful of them have become established common loans. The majority, however, are exotic terms with clear ethnic connotations. A category in-between is educated loans that, on the one hand, have maintained their link to Finnish history and culture, yet, on the other, they have spread outside their original specialised fields. All the three categories are given in Table 1, which is arranged chronologically, providing also information (if available) on the maximum frequencies of each lexeme. All in all, the number of common loans is limited to three: *sauna*, *Nokia*, and *Molotov cocktail*; and the number of educated loans to seven: *runo*, *kantele*, *Suomi*, *Kalevala*, *Mannerheim Line*, *Winter War*, and *Continuation War*. Further, three lexemes should best be considered very marginal to English lexicon, as they have no attestations in the Google Books corpus: *Salpausselkä*, *laitakarite*, and *Molotov breadbasket*, while *essive* and *Finglish* can be excluded from the list on etymological grounds, the former being a Latin-based and the latter an English-based construct.

In terms of specialisation, the lexical domains that provide most of the data are design and (touristic) consumer goods (including brand names): *puukko*, *Nokia*, *Fiskars*, *ryijy*, *Iittala*, and *Marimekko*; war: *Mannerheim Line*, *Molotov breadbasket*, *Molotov cocktail*, *motti*, *Winter War*, and *Continuation War*; geology: *rapakivi*, *Salpausselkä*, *palsa*, and *laitakarite*; and literature/musicology: *runo*, *kantele*, and *Kalevala*. In terms of structure, the borrowings can further be divided into single-word loans and two-word loan-translations (*Red Guard*, *Mannerheim Line*, *Molotov breadbasket*, *Molotov cocktail*, *Winter War*, and *Continuation War*).

The world that can be discerned beyond these lexemes to many foreigners (English-speaking or otherwise) may appear as strange as David Černý's image. I hope though that this study has shown how multi-faceted this strange world can also be – obscure and archaic as *Salpausselkä*, simple and straightforward as *ryijy* or *puukko*, successful and global as *Nokia*, wild and non-yielding as *sisu* or *Molotov cocktail*, but ultimately serene and poetic as *Kalevala*.

Table 1. Finnish loans in modern English (by date, frequency per mil, and type)

	Lexeme	Date	Frequency	Type
1	*pulka*	1746	0.11	specialised
2	*runo*	1780	?	educated
3	*rapakivi*	1784	0.06	specialised
4	*kantele*	1827	0.07	educated
5	*Suomi*	1834	0.21	educated
6	*Kalevala*	1844	0.38	educated
7	*markka*	1866	0.07	specialised
8	*penni*	1866	?	specialised
9	*essive*	1870	n/a	specialised
10	*sauna*	1881	2.35	common
11	*puukko*	1885	> 0.01	specialised
12	*Nokia*	1900	1.26	common
13	*Fiskars*	1902	0.14	specialised
14	*Red Guard*	1906	?	specialised
15	*Salpausselkä*	1923	0	specialised
16	*sisu*	1927	?	specialised
17	*ryijy*	1929	0.01	specialised
18	*palsa*	1938	> 0.01	specialised
19	*Mannerheim Line*	1939	0.44	educated
20	*Molotov basket*	1940	0	specialised
21	*Molotov cocktail*	1940	0.17	common
22	*motti*	1940	?	specialised
23	*Winter War*	1940	0.18	educated
24	*Finglish*	1944	n/a	specialised
25	*Continuation War*	1952	0.04	educated
26	*Iittala*	1954	> 0.01	specialised
27	*laitakarite*	1959	0	specialised
28	*Marimekko*	1961	0.02	specialised

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